

# Social Questions

## BULLETIN

of the Methodist Federation for Social Service (unofficial), an organization which rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society; which seeks to replace it with social-economic planning in order to develop a society without class distinctions and privileges.

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## How Shall We Face the Atomic Age?

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In New Mexico in July, 1945, Father Time decisively turned a page in human history. That month will be known as the great water-shed of history, the continental divide between the pre-atomic and the atomic age. Could Columbus really know what his discovery of America meant? No. And certainly the people in Genoa and the peasants in Spain went on tilling their feudal soil quite oblivious to the implications of the discovery of the new world. So is it with us. Hidden from us are the great events of the future based on atomic energy. Yet we cannot help but meditate with fear and trembling and also with the glimmerings of hope about the meaning of this secret to our planet.

The first thing that it means is that you and I live in an age of enormous simplification. The issues are very simple—life or death for all of us.

You and I know all this not scientifically but humanly. We have enough imagination to realize what a man-created fire modern Prometheus has stolen from the gods, and like fire it can burn our dwelling place or give warmth, light and cheer . . . the blessing or the curse, life or death . . . Our whole earth stands now as did Israel at Mt. Sinai, according to the great ancient legend, when God lifted the mountain by its roots and said in effect, "Even against your will, accept these moral commandments of life or I shall bury you beneath this mass of matter."

Yes, we live in the most awesome period of history when what we terribly fallible and frail mortals do in the next few years will determine the survival or the destruction of everything. It is a frightening responsibility and we are going to have to grow up ethically and socially very rapidly or it will really be "too little, too late." *This is the transition era.* If we live successfully for the next few years and make the decisions that have to be made, then unbelievable though it may seem we can enter the greatest period of life the world has ever known. Existence today is almost a literal analogy to those old fables and stories with which children have been entertained and also frightened for generations—the story, for example, of the brave knight who in order to reach the princess in the palace atop the lonely mountain has to slay many dragons along the road. Well, humanity is that knight and the kingdom of God is the palace on the hill and there are many dragons waiting to destroy us. One dragon is called Economic Frustration. Another dragon is called Social Hatred. A third dragon is called Political Nationalism. These are just a few of the monsters threatening the knight errant on his perilous mission. Or, to take a great allegory from our own Bible—the story of the sacrifice of Isaac—we can say that all of us are in the position of Abraham today, called upon to offer some of our most beloved possessions upon the altar of survival—our economic selfishness, our social injustice, our religious prejudices and racial bigotries—all of the well-

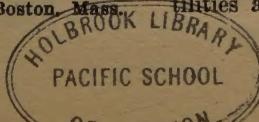
beloved ideas which were tolerable in the pre-atomic age but which can now become the detonators of earth's last bomb.

If our world is not to be blown to bits we are compelled to make possible full employment for all of the citizens of this land and other lands. The arguments of economists and propagandists against full employment sound to me as unreal now as the discussions in the days of Columbus about the earth being flat when Columbus's voyage had already disproved the outworn theory. There are those who say that our capitalistic system cannot afford full employment, dare not guarantee jobs to all. Religion and ethics must answer that we can afford nothing less for if men do not have work and if government, industry and labor together will not try new means of preventing the frustration that comes through joblessness, lack of status and security, fear of hunger, then that frustration will itself be the percussion cap on the atomic bomb of earth's destruction.

In this transition era it is the religious and ethical duty of every Jew and of every Christian to sacrifice old ideas and personal privilege in order to keep men at work, at just and livable wages, if we do not wish to give birth to new Hitlers at home and abroad who will find a way to take vengeance against the world that has frustrated them. Nor dare we be indifferent to the hunger and the cold that threatens Europe and Asia this winter. We who believe in religion ought to insist that America keep food rationing intact so that we can send food and fuel and clothes to the naked, starving world. If we eat well while the rest of the world suffers from malnutrition let us remember that we are eating as a prisoner in the death cell eats his last meal. If not charity and justice then self-interest should make us share what we have with new lend-lease if need be to all of the earth. Let us recall that Hitler came to power out of a hungry and frustrated Germany and a new and more terrible harvest of Hitlers will come to plague the world ten years from now unless we change our whole philosophy of mutual responsibility. Old capitalistic notions, old economic theories, old idolatries of rugged individualism, went up in smoke on August 6. We can hoard our money, worry about personal profits, try to re-establish old free enterprise, be proud of our position as a creditor nation, tell Europe and Asia to stew in their own juices, but let us keep in mind that our banks will be blown up just as surely as Hiroshima was blown up and all our factories and savings for our children will be so much dust and ashes. The prevention of crippling hunger and malnutrition in the other parts of the earth are not only dictates of religion but of self-interest and survival as well.

There is another sacrifice that the world is going to have to make—the sacrifice of comfortable old prejudices and smug bigotries. In this age of simplification, people are just going to have to control their aggressions and hostilities against this minority or that minority or the whole

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world will go up in smoke. For example, decent Christians and Jews probably will still have to fight hard against anti-Semitism but the problem will become infinitely more simple. If the majority should in the future kill or torture a minority, that will be just the first chain-reaction setting off the mighty explosion of the universe. From now on, nobody will be safe from anybody else and that very universality of danger may very well bring about a brotherhood of danger in which inevitable differences will be accepted as unimportant compared with the desperate unity of the human family.

This is Revolution. Now we are scientific giants and moral and social infants. Can we grow up quickly enough? That is the supreme and only important question. What is the hope? The hope lies in the very temporal urgency, the drastic emergency that confronts civilization. People do rise to great heights under danger and in moments of supreme crisis. We know how ordinary people became heroes and heroines during the war.

It is not as though we lacked any of the resources mental, spiritual or physical to usher in the age of peace. We have the brain power, the man power. We have the good earth with all of its infinite energy. We have the ethical and spiritual formulae which only need to be implemented at last. Remember that physicists and chemists knew the theory back of atomic energy long before it was released. They had the revolutionary work of Roentgen in 1895 with X-rays, the equation of Einstein about mass and energy in 1905, the brilliant research work of Lord Rutherford in England on the nature of the atom and its structure. They had all of the theoretical knowledge needing only cooperative work and vast human ingenuity to translate the theory into practice. Well, we have the moral equations of Abraham and Moses and Buddha and Jesus and Confucius and the psychological equations of Shakespeare and Dostoevsky and Freud. We all know in theory what goodness and decency and justice mean and we have seen enough human samples of goodness and saintliness on earth to realize that a moral society is not impossible.

What science did for two billion dollars, humanity must do no matter what the cost. Let us remember how science achieves its miracles, dangerous or blessed. It achieves them through cooperation not competition, through the quest for truth not profit, through self-sacrifice not self-aggrandize-

ment, through internationalism not nationalism. Scientists during the war did not ask of their co-workers "Are you British, Canadian, or American? Who are your parents? Were they rich or poor? Do you worship under a Cross or the Star of David?" They only asked, "Are you competent and consecrated to the task?" This is the spirit that will alone save humanity. We have the knowledge in our religion, all of the theories necessary for the good life. In this race against death all of the churches and the synagogues and the schools and the governments will have to turn their backs on out-worn dogmas and the fetishes of ancient ideas and begin a mass experiment in the good life with cooperative selflessness the creative substitute for competitive self-destruction.

What has been achieved, perhaps tragically, in the realm of power must now be achieved nobly in the realm of goodness. The time has come to give work to all, to eliminate all remediable frustrations, to erase all breeding grounds for future Hitlers. The time has come to put survival above profit, to sacrifice our money, our prejudices, our old patriotic prides in order that our children will have a world in which to live. These are literally days of decision. If we decide wisely then we and the next generation can enter an age unbelievable in beauty and fulfillment. As one of the greatest English scientists recently put it: "There will be radioactive elements available to conquer cancer and untold diseases of man. All limitations on food supply can be removed. Atomic energy will mean the opening of limitless frontiers for the whole human race. The struggle for 'Lebensraum' will be ended at last. There will be no corner of the earth and no people on earth hungry, illiterate, diseased."

If we get through this transition era safely, the earth can become God's dwelling place at last and there will be leisure and art and work and the cup of life for all. Instead of the earth becoming the graveyard of the human race we can make it the granary of the human race, the vineyard of fulfillment. Instead of being Samson tearing down in a blind rage the pillars of the Temple, our generation can become like Moses greeting God face to face, mature, free, loving, answering the threat of evil "unconditional destruction" with life's greater affirmation "unconditional survival."

## Toward an Understanding of Russia

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In January of 1918, I journeyed to Leningrad and was one of three Americans to attend the First All-Russian Soviet Congress. The other Americans were my buddy, Ernest Campbell, and John Reid who sat on the platform with Lenin and later wrote "Ten Days that Shook the World". That night I heard Lenin speak for three hours, his bald head shining through a haze of blue tobacco smoke, outlining the new Communist state.

He told the delegates, land-hungry peasants from all over that vast realm, that the land was being divided among them and that the big landlords were forever done with their repression; that all the wealth in factories, mines, and land now belonged to the state and would be exploited for the benefit of the masses. Bourgeois who objected would be "liquidated".

A messianic fervor was in evidence that night. Whenever Lenin got tired and sat down the nondescript and ragged band arose and played and everybody shouted and waved their arms. It was 2 A.M. when the meeting was over.

I was in Russia for the better part of that year and watched the beginnings of the Communist state. The slogan

was: "From everybody according to his ability and to everybody according to his need."

The only trouble was it didn't work. Most everybody started loafing. Under that idealistic slogan they were willing to take but not to give. Production in manufactures and in agriculture went down and down until by 1921 it had reached a low of 14 per cent of the pre-war level. As a consequence in 1921 practical Nicholai Lenin introduced the New Economic Policy or N.E.P. That was straight State Capitalism—the state in business for profit along capitalistic lines with economic rewards and punishments brought back into the picture for the common man. The new slogan was "he who does not work shall not eat."

Men and women in factories were put on the "piece system" and an attempt was made to pay everybody what it was thought he was worth to the state. The state still retains the ownership and direction of all the means of production and distribution so that no millionaires are made. Under this system production shot upward and the next twenty years witnessed a miraculous transformation of the nation.

But go back to Versailles in 1919. The men who made that fatal peace were a frightened group of statesmen.

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Russia was a menace to them. They therefore brought Poland back to life as a buffer state. They also carved out Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia as buffer states using the territory that had been Russian ever since the second partition of Poland in 1793. The feared Bolshevik government was not only not represented or consulted about this free use of her territory but plans were there made to fight this strange new government.

That is why the USSR was soon fighting England, the U. S. A. and their allies on seven different fronts. War was never declared but it was none the less real and bloody. Those of you who have visited Russia's amazing museums of the revolution have no doubt seen the maps and mementos of that war. The Soviet guide points to a map and says "it was just here that our mad hardriding Cossacks broke through the allied lines and, without protecting their own rear and without following accepted military practice, rode right on to Warsaw and scared the Poles and their allies to death." That war ended with a treaty of peace just as it began without declaration.

Thus began a quarter of a century of fear of the Russians. Unfortunately the Polish government was a government of big landlords. Their large estates were filled with the same poverty-stricken serfs that Russia had before the Revolution. I have crossed Poland often and always with the same feeling of pity for the peasants. Just across the border in Russia always I have sensed new life and hope in the air as through the years I have witnessed the amazing transformation of Russian life.

The big landlords of Poland feared everything Russian lest some of Russia's ideas should seep in and rob them of their big estates. Five million Ukrainian Russians were given to Poland by the men of Versailles and the thing that galled the Russians most was that this buffer state left those Russians in even a worse plight than they did the Polish peasants. Literally nothing was done for them by the government during all those years.

The hatred between the two countries grew until it could be felt at the border in the attitude between the armed guards. On July 31st, 1939, I found myself in Warsaw gathering material for a series of newspaper articles. One of the highest government officials was remarkably frank. "Where will you be on August 10th?" he asked. I replied that I would be in Munich. "Good," he said, "go out on the street and buy a paper that day. Our secret service has learned that Hitler's final propaganda line leading to war on Poland will break that day and keep screaming about the atrocities we are committing against the poor helpless German minority until September 1st. On or about that day he will invade Poland!"

To say that I was amazed is putting it mildly. "But why," I asked, "do you not let the Russians help you?" Then he showed real emotion. "Because," he cried, bringing his fist down for emphasis, "we Poles would rather go down before Adolf Hitler, bad as he is, than let one Russian soldier put his dirty boot in Polish soil."

Right on schedule ten days later I was in Munich and on that hot August 10th I saw two things. I bought a paper and saw indeed the screaming headlines about Polish atrocities against the German minority in Poland. And on the same day I saw long lines of German mechanized equipment for blitzwar headed for the Polish front. They would be fighting in three short weeks!

In the meantime I had spent the intervening ten days in Prague. Strange to say I was the only correspondent that had been given the coveted pass to enter that captured country. Hitler had taken over Czechoslovakia in March and no newsmen had been allowed to enter. Since I was just a cub and didn't know any better, I went straight to the German ambassador in Warsaw and asked for a pass instead of asking in Berlin as I should have done. The result was that I got it where others failed.

Sitting in a restaurant one day in Prague I heard a sad

and tragic story from a former Czech government official. He told me of the treaty that the Czechs had with France and Russia to come to their aid in case of German aggression; of England's pressure on France to refuse the fulfillment of that obligation; of English pressure on the Czechs to give their little democracy over to Hitler lock, stock, and barrel. The conversation remains the more vivid in my mind because he told me that the waiter was a German spy and we could talk only when he was out of ear shot.

He told me of the long night vigil at Hradcany Castle when, at 5 A.M., a special messenger arrived from Stalin. He brought word that Russia would fight with the Czechs no matter what France did. The Czech who left the inner sanctum to greet the messenger slowly shook his head. "You are two hours too late" he said, "the fateful decision was taken two hours ago and Hitler has already been notified. His army may already be on the march."

"But why" I asked "were the British so willing to sacrifice Czechoslovakia?" He asked me if I had ever studied the map of Europe closely. "Czechoslovakia is like a great crescent," he added, "with one end jutting far toward the heart of Germany and the other reaching almost to the Ukraine. With Hitler's public declaration that he would one day take the Ukraine, with his constant shouting about his mission to save Europe from Bolshevism what more perfect present could be given him than the Czech corridor right up to the front door of that same Ukrainian bread basket? The English hate the Nazis but they fear the Russians more. If Hitler could be induced to attack Russia maybe two mad dogs would eat each other up and then both of these troublesome countries would be taken care of for a long time to come."

I shall never forget his agitation then as he spoke of Poland. "Even with all of the threats from Germany, England, France, and Hungary we still would have refused to surrender without a fight if it had not been for Poland," he said. "Just at the moment when we felt abandoned by all our friends, along came an ultimatum from Poland demanding Teschen, with its rich coal deposits. They said they would either have an immediate and affirmative reply or they would attack us the day Germany struck. That was the straw that broke the camel's back and we gave up."

Thus you see the ominous shadow of that worldwide fear of Soviet Russia behind many of the allied major decisions for a quarter of a century. It started with the Versailles plan to carve buffer states out of Russian territory and with undeclared war. In 1931 when Japan attacked Manchuria and the Lord Lytton commission from the League of Nations finally labeled Japan an aggressor nation, something should have been done by united action and at once.

Here was the first definite break in the dike of international solidarity and collective peace. But you will recall that England insisted that nothing be done. Why? Undoubtedly the old Russian fear was dominant again. Japan put a huge army of crack troops on the Siberian border and again and again war almost broke out. Action against Japan would have forestalled possible war on Russia.

In 1934 Russia joined the League of Nations and Maxim Litvinov started giving his impassioned addresses to the League, pointing out the dreadful path along which their spineless policies were leading—World War II. When the Spanish Civil war broke and England took the matter away from Geneva and at a special meeting in Buckingham Palace settled upon a policy of non-intervention, Litvinov was especially aroused.

Recall the overall picture of the Spanish Civil war. Hitler and Mussolini sent their armies into Spain to help Franco overthrow the Loyalists. They were using Spain as a proving ground for blitz warfare as they feverishly built up their industry and their war machines for large-scale operations. Russia sent the Loyalists men and materials to help stem this awful tide. But at the moment England led off

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# MFSS Chapter-Building

## A Vital Job for You!

For nearly a year now MFSS, under the leadership of its Executive Committee, has placed major emphasis upon the development of live, meeting, and functioning units at the grass roots. It is *at the grass roots*: in local churches, in towns or cities, on college or theological seminary campuses, in Annual Conferences—that maximum face-to-face fellowship and direct person-to-person sharing of insights, facts, and convictions—are possible. The deep and life-giving brotherhood of the Federation becomes more real to us as we become active participants in a functioning local or Annual Conference chapter.

The fellowship which we experience in the Federation is not exclusive. It does not cut us off from the dynamic people, forces, and movements at work for democratic equality and justice. It rather brings us into a more informed and creative relationship with these great allies being used by God for needed historic changes.

But the Federation does not exist for fellowship alone. And the fellowship itself finds its life-giving roots in the driving passion to cooperate with God and our fellows in the creation of a new society—in which mutuality and cooperation will supplant profit-driven competition and in which class distinctions and privileges will be supplanted by democratic brotherhood, full and unreserved.

The Federation is confronted, therefore, by an essential and tremendous job of social education and action. It is a continuous and ongoing job, and it must break down into specifics. Our responsibility for this job cannot be fulfilled by radical pronouncements made once a year at Annual Conference time. Nor will the new society come because we express a desire for it. We serve it ill who never leave the realm of abstractions and generalities. Those serve it better who are in the specific and continuing struggle by which alone the better day can dawn: the struggle against class or racial distinctions and privileges in their own community, the struggle for free elections and civil liberties in the state and nation, the struggle for a strong and permanent FEPC and against the poll tax, the two-pronged fight for mass purchasing power to stop the coming depression—(1) for O.P.A. and price control; (2) for increased wage-incomes, increased minimum wages, adequate unemployment compensation and social security, effective full employment legislation and policies, etc., the crucial fight for international control of the atomic bomb and for an end to the outmoded era of colonialism.

This requires *continuous and specific* study, decision, and action. Here is another compelling reason for grass roots Federation chapters. Not only will such chapters bring a more adequate realization of the values of Federation fellowship, but they will make the Federation far more potent as an agency of social education and action. For precisely as we meet and participate in the creative process of local or Conference chapter discussion and decision—and as we share in the consequent group and individual action—we "grow in wisdom and stature" as co-workers for the coming society.

Look at the long and disturbing inaction of Congress on the most pressing items of social legislation: decent unemployment compensation, fair labor standards, a full employment bill with teeth, housing and health legislation, FEPC. If there is no radical change we will plunge into depression and chaos before many years have passed. Let us not wait until then to ask the question with reference to Congressional inactivity: what is the cause and what the cure? An adequate exploration of that question will reveal that the one hope for the future is the people back home. Only to the extent that we, the people back home,

insist that our representatives act, can we hope that such action will be forthcoming. Letters from our national office to Congressmen have their place and will continue with regularity. But the letters which will be decisive are those from our individual members and from our local and Conference groups. And if the people are our only hope, it is also true that that hope will be decisively undergirded by the strengthening and extension of local and Conference units of MFSS social actionists.

But what have been the results of our efforts during the past year to attain such organizational, grass-roots results? Progress has been made. Old chapters have been strengthened. New chapters, both local and Conference, have been created. Progress has been especially marked in the South. We have assurance through correspondence that further local chapter developments (e.g. at Enid, Okla., and Garrett Biblical Institute) are in the offing. Reference to some current chapter activities will be found elsewhere in this BULLETIN. But far more can, should and must be done in the crucial months just ahead. *What will you do* to get more meetings and more action from the local and/or Conference chapter to which you belong? If you do not belong to a chapter, what will you do immediately to organize a chapter in your conference, on your campus, in your community or local church? Is your Annual Conference meeting this spring? If so, what steps will you take *immediately* to see that the socially-minded folk in your Conference meet during the Conference Session to organize a strong Federation chapter? We have no resources to send organizers to the field which clearly is so potentially bounteous. For the speedy realization of that great potential *we must depend on you*.—J. R. M.

## Anti-Semitism Increase Continues

Despite prevailing silence on the subject in the public press evidence from private sources indicates that an increase in anti-Semitism has followed the close of the War. Apparently an aggressive anti-Semitic movement, overshadowed during recent years by the War, is again gathering strength. Jewish citizens say that never before have they been subjected so frequently to insult and abuse or so cynically discriminated against. Jewish cemeteries and synagogues in several cities have been desecrated. In at least two Eastern cities—Newark and Philadelphia—telephone campaigns have been conducted telling wives and mothers of servicemen that their loved ones were sacrificed in war so that the Jews could garner greater profits. Again in several cities the notorious "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" is being distributed by the tens of thousands of copies. In some cities Jewish children—both boys and girls—are being set upon by Gentile boys' gangs and beaten. Unfortunately, a marked division of opinion exists as to the best way of dealing with this un-American evil. Some persons and organizations, strongly opposed to anti-Semitism, incline nevertheless to a hush-hush policy, holding that news of anti-Semitism and talking about it increases rather than decreases the evil. Others are convinced that anti-Semitism must be brought into the open, pitilessly exposed to public opinion, condemned for what it is whenever and wherever any of its manifestations appear. We agree with the latter point of view. We urge Federation members to be alert to every expression of anti-Semitism and to insist on publicity being given in the public press. Give the people the facts and trust to their inherent sense of fairness and justice.

## “if thine enemy hunger, feed him . . .”

By no means the least of the many contradictions in which the Christian conscience is involved by the postwar situation, are the prevailing government regulations which make it impossible for persons to contribute to the relief of starvation and near-starvation in Germany and Japan.

Consider Germany. There is no UNNRA for Germany's people. As regards other nations of Europe the Christian's conscience is salved to some extent by the realization that when he pays his twenty per cent in settling his 1945 wartime tax he is contributing something—a mere pittance, so slight is the proportion, but at least something—to other countries through UNNRA's relief. But for the German children and their mothers—nothing. The government says, No! The Army says shipment of food into Germany cannot be permitted.

Concerning the existence of extreme need in Germany there can be no question, though there is wide variation in reports. General Lucius Clay says there will be no *mass starvation* in Germany this winter. The commission from the United States of which Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, president of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and a vice president of the Methodist Federation for Social Service, on return from Europe in December said: “Generalizations concerning hunger, disease, lack of clothing, inadequate housing and widespread physical suffering are apt to be misleading. There is more than one Germany: the Germany of the bombed cities; the Germany of the rural areas largely unscathed by war; the Germany of the refugees composed of perhaps ten million persons evacuated from territory once German and now moving into communities of the present Germany. Then, too, there are the Russian, French, British, and American zones. Living conditions differ radically in these different areas. The total destruction of the German economy and the chaos following in the wake of war result in a lowered standard of living in which available food is ill-balanced and inadequate . . . in Germany as a whole the expulsion of millions from their homes in territory once German is causing unspeakable hardship. These millions have been torn from their homes, their personal property taken from them, and forced to migrate to Germany under conditions that result in starvation and the unnecessary death of tens of thousands. They are without food, medical supplies, adequate clothing, shelter. Children and old people are en route, many diseases are becoming epidemic, and the cruelty accompanying this evacuation will affect all of Europe and manifest itself in widespread disease in the present and in hatred tomorrow.” Numerous other reports from within Germany state that tens of thousands have already died of starvation and that many more thousands are in a condition of near starvation. The situation in Berlin—a city for which the United States, Great Britain, and Russia are jointly responsible—baffle description, some reports placing the daily death rate at not less than four thousand persons a day.

The Oxnam report says, “We are gratified to learn that 500,000 tons of food will be shipped from the United States to Germany and made available in the American zone, thereby insuring for the German population there and the anticipated 3 million forced evacuees who will enter the American zone a standard of 1550 calories a day. Under these circumstances there will be no need or opportunity for the churches or individuals to contribute food or money to purchase food; but on account of the inevitable lack of heat, there is serious need of clothing.” But the present average diet of persons in the American zone according to a recent Army Report is only 1354 calories—an amount insufficient to maintain physical activity in a human being, a minimum of 1650 being required if a person is to remain on his feet. For a person compelled to maintain physical activity the 1550 calories which the Army proposes to pro-

vide will be little better than slow starvation. Babies now being born in Germany are said to average 4 pounds at birth, and in many areas, according to Bishop Otto Dibelius, the death rate is near 100 per cent within the first twelve months. Tens of thousands of older children will die before this year's food crops are ready for use.

Conditions in Italy, Greece, Bohemia, and certain other areas—bad as they are—are slowly improving. Relief is beginning in Austria.

By the Potsdam Agreement Germany is not to be permitted a standard of living higher than the countries she has pillaged and robbed. General McNarney and General Clay are said to be strongly opposed to allowing importation of food into Germany on the ground that it would be a violation of Potsdam, lifting the food level above that of surrounding countries, and contending that permitting the entrance of food packages would result in discrimination. Measured against the clear and direct imperative of Christian and Jewish teaching the reasons given by Army and Government are not convincing.

Many of her people suffering from effects of deficiency diets, England is finding ways of contributing to the relief of hunger in Germany. The food level in Britain is so low that the authorities feel no further reduction can be officially sanctioned and, consequently, that Government can do nothing. Rations are at present more limited than at any time during the war. The Ministry of Food, however, has agreed to allow the voluntary societies forming the Council of British Societies for Relief Aboard to buy foodstuffs of particular value to children, expectant and nursing mothers, and sick people, to be distributed through their workers and other contacts abroad.

Surely the Christian conscience of America must and will protest the inhumanity of prevailing policies. When the terrible tragedy has come to full fruition and columns of our newspapers are filled with accounts of death by starvation of children and mothers and aged people there will be many to bewail the lack of action. *The time to act by vigorous protest to the President and to Congress is now, before it is too late.* Inaction has too long prevailed.

General Clay is said to encourage the accumulation of clothing, intimating that regulations will soon be relaxed sufficiently to permit entrance of clothing shipments. Clothing will avail nothing for people who have starved to death. It is not sentimentality which demands that Americans be permitted to alleviate German hunger. It is the reaction, as the *Christian News-Letter* (London) says, “of decent men to human misery.”

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### BULLETIN

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# Why the Workers Strike

The current strikes—the largest in volume in the nation's history—are not the action of the "union bosses" as charged in certain full-page advertisements of the big corporations. The strikes have been called by vote of rank-and-file union members—by vote of the working men whose families will suffer, thousands of them now suffering—by long-drawn-out struggle. Why do these workers, many of whom have poignant memories of like experiences in the past, deliberately cast their ballots in favor of going out on strike?

They do not strike because they are spoiling for a fight. The current strikes thus far are noteworthy for lack of violence. In the 1913 United Mine Workers' Campaign to unionize the Colorado Fuel and Iron Co., extreme violence developed and two women and twelve children were killed by bullets from state police machine guns. As late as 1937 in the Republic Steel picket-line battle four were killed and eighty-three injured by police. Nothing of this kind has as yet occurred in the current conflicts. Strategy has changed. Nevertheless, a strike today is still a battle. But workingmen are not engaged in it for love of conflict.

Nor are they striking because of unwillingness to engage in collective bargaining. It has been Company representatives, not labor leaders, who have walked out of Conference rooms during the past six months. Workingmen know that they have more to lose than the corporations. They do not enjoy standing on picket lines, or seeing their meager savings' accounts rapidly melt away, or watching their children cry for needed food and clothing.

Nor are workingmen striking because of a determination to exact unreasonable pay from the Corporations employing them. The General Motors strikers are asking only what they received in take-home pay a few months ago without working the unreasonably long week exacted of them during the war-time emergency. And their demand is conditional, based on proven ability to pay and thereby to maintain consumer purchasing power. They are convinced that they are not getting their share of what their labor produces. They are matching their brawn and workingmen's skill against the managers' planning and sales' strategy and it is clear to them that there is too wide a gap between their wage (in the case of the General Motors strikers only slightly above the official government figure for a decent family minimum in the Detroit area) and the magnificent salaries drawn by the managers. They believe that the return to capital investment—the wage paid to money—is out of proportion to the wage paid to human energy and toil. In other words they are striking for what they deeply believe are *human rights*.

The fact is that by and large the insistence of corporation managers on setting hours and wages on the basis of the rate of pay last year or five years ago, independently of profits or ability to increase wages, is based on an outmoded conception of property rights as compared to human rights. Strikes today as never before in this country represent in essence an ideological struggle in which the workingmen's convictions are rooted in the teachings of prophetic religion. The workers strike because religion has taught them to believe in the supremacy of human personality.

## Federation Activities and Reports

**UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA CHAPTER.**—The first news release from the newly organized chapter was a letter sent by the chapter to the *Oklahoma Daily* urging that Negro students be admitted to the University. This action, reports Peggy Long, secretary, was taken by vote of the chapter following report and discussion of a student investigating committee whose members interviewed students and faculty members on the subject. The news release was published by the newspaper without comment. "The opinion of our group," John Paul Jones, president of the chapter was quoted as saying, "is that the Negro is entitled to equal opportunity and that is not being offered at present in Oklahoma." The chapter purposes consideration of further actions on the subject. Need is felt for additional factual information. The chapter has subscribed to the *Black Dispatch*, an Oklahoma Negro newspaper. The chapter is seeking representation on all social action committees on the university campus.—PEGGY LONG, secretary, reporting.

**SOUTH GEORGIA CONFERENCE.**—The chapter now has fifty members and expects this number to be much increased. Officers of the chapter are James R. Webb, Jr., President; William J. Erwin, Vice-President; Emily Britton (Wesleyan College, Macon), Secretary; R. S. Wimberly (Lumpkin, Ga.), Treasurer. The mid-year meeting, it is planned, will be held in conjunction with the Pastors' School in June. A letter recently sent by the officers to each minister of the South Georgia Conference says: "The Methodist Federation for Social Service is an organization of Methodists who want to see the principles of Christ put into practice in the realm of social relationships. It believes that those Methodists who have this purpose should bind themselves together and unite their strength to achieve these ends. It believes that God's will should be carried out in

the social, economic, and political world as well as in the world of the inner self. . . . Our hope is that all progressive-minded ministers in our Conference will desire to respond to this invitation to become members." A bulletin on Peace-time Military Conscription was recently sent by the chapter to each of its members urging the writing of a personal letter on the May Bill (H.R. 515) to at least one member of the House Military Affairs Committee.—EMILY BRITTON, Secretary.

**CALIFORNIA CONFERENCE.**—A conference on Labor and Management was held in the Laurel Methodist Church, Oakland, on January 8 under the auspices of the Social Action Fellowship of the California Annual Conference, Dr. C. C. McCown, chairman, presiding. Fifty ministers and laymen participated. On the panel of seven, which took the leading part in the Conference, Labor was represented by Robert Ash, Secretary of the Central Labor Council of Alameda Co., and President of Garage Employees Union, Local 78 and Jeffery Cohelan, Milk Wagon Drivers Union, Local 302, both A.F.L.; Paul Schliff, Director of CIO-PAC for Alameda Co., and E. W. Balatti, President CIO Council for San Joaquin Valley, and Business Agent of Warehousemen's Union, Stockton, and Lester T. Davis, Vice-Chairman of the Legislative Board and Chairman of the Grievance Committee; while representatives of Management were Donald K. Grant, Secretary of the Guy F. Atkinson Co., Burlingame, Cal., and Anthony Middleton, Auditor of the Pacific Grape and Vegetable Cannery, Modesto. Four of the seven on the panel are Methodist laymen. Similar conferences have been planned for other sections of the California Conference, the Social Action Fellowship and the Conference Board of Education cooperating in sponsoring them.—DON M. CHASE, correspondent, reporting.

# A Bold Church Is Required

The push of a long course of social evolution is back of the process of social change now under way in every part of the globe. Mankind in the course of its sojourn on this planet has slowly but surely moved from tribal to feudal to capitalist society. The onward course of organized human life cannot and will not stop at this point. The urge for a higher, more humanitarian, and more beneficent form of organized society is indestructible and the capacities for advance, no matter how slowly they exert themselves, are immeasurable. Neither the socialist economy toward which change irresistably moves, nor any other which will come after it, will mark the end of human development. What part will organized religion play in the great change? What part is it now playing when the sum total of its influence for social progress is measured against the total of its influence for reaction?

Writing in a recent issue of the *Christian Register* on "The Coming Struggle," Dr. Harry F. Ward says: "The courses that life may take for us are being shaped by the fact that the days of our years have fallen in the transition from capitalist to socialist society. From this historic fact come all the tumults of our time—the wars and threats of wars, the political and social upheavals, the inconsistencies and contradictions of our national policies and personal attitudes. . . . While the barbarians in any period can halt progress, they cannot prevent it. They can, and do terribly increase the cost of advance, but they cannot raise it beyond reach. They can destroy much that has been built, but not the future. What they cannot kill is the urge toward freedom and justice, equality and brotherhood. This is an expression of what many preachers call 'the divinity in man.' It is also the basic truth voiced by many unbelievers who proclaim that 'only the people are immortal.'

"Socialist society is the next higher form of human organization because its essence is the conscious control of the social order, especially its basic economic process, for the development of all the capacities of all the people. Unitedly behind this advance are the two great dynamic forces of history, the push of economic necessity—scientifically understood for the first time—and the pull of the highest ideals for human living. The effective conjunction of these two forces is a guarantee of change to a higher form of society. All the forces of reaction, strong as they are, have never, despite all their temporary successes, been strong enough to win their war against this combination. That is not to imply that the course of social evolution is either a steady ascent or a painless advance. There are many drops into the depths of primitive brutality, many bloody and destructive conflicts, but in long perspective the curve climbs. To refuse to accept the possibility of final defeat is as essential to the conquest of evil as it was to victory over the Nazis.

## Deciding the form of the great transition

"The form the transition from capitalist to socialist society will take in America is being determined by the comparative strength of the two conflicting elements in capitalist society. Ever since our economy became monopolist and imperialist, its ruling principle has been the concentration of power in the hands of the strong. The professed principle of our political behavior is the diffusion of power among all the people. Hence our common house is divided against itself and the course of our life is pushed now in one direction, now in another. Our monopolist-imperialist economy pushes toward a final Fascist period for capitalist society. Witness the collaboration of our cartelist in the rise of Hitler and the arming of the Axis; the pro-Argentine incidents at San Francisco; our demands at the aviation conference over Pacific bases; the attempt in the State Department to preserve Japanest-Fascist industrialism as a foil to 'communism' in Asia as though Munich had never

happened. Our political democracy pushes toward economic democracy and seeks a road into the future by way of democratic planning to meet needs as they arise. It wins the food agreement, the Bretton Woods proposals and a stronger Economic and Social Council than envisioned by the Yalta agreements and the Dumbarton Oaks proposals.

"Because this war as a whole is a conflict between democracy and Fascism, a war between the democratic and anti-democratic elements in the democracies as well as between them and the Axis, it now passes into its second stage—the struggle within the victorious capitalist nations. This will decide for them the form of the great transition, whether the people will be able to democratize and socialize economic power by political action with a minimum of violence or will blunder into a Fascist period of brutal repression with a maximum of violence to establish it and later to get rid of it. The crucial struggle is here in the United States, because we are now the strongest capitalist society. So it is here that the form of transition for the less industrialized lands of Latin America and Asia will be determined. Consider what we did to the democratic forces of Latin America by our Argentine policy and what we are doing to the democratic forces of Asia by the prevailing State Department policy concerning both Japan and China!

## Calling for chaplains of democracy

"In this inner war between our democratic and Fascist tendencies how many preachers will serve as chaplains to strengthen men and women to fight on the side of democracy? How many will relate the issues here to the timeless values as their colleagues did for those who faced death at the front and on the seas? Here preachers are not limited by military rules to ministry to the individual. Here they have a voice in the making of policy. Will they influence it, by inertia or lack of understanding, toward a Fascist period, or by militant action toward the extension of the democracy they profess to believe in?

"The latter course requires two decisions, one concerning the kind of economy immediately required, the other concerning the nature of the society toward which the world is now moving. The form of our postwar economy is now determined. The struggle is over the control and the distribution of the product. The operations of our war production and distribution, every step in the search for postwar economic security, take us into a planned and managed economy with the state playing a leading role. Even those who finance the free enterprise propaganda and fight to throw off all wartime controls expect to use the government—that is, the people's productive power—to underwrite postwar finance and production while they take the safe profits and confine most of the benefits to a small section of the population. The choice is between monopolistic-bureaucratic planning for the joint benefit of big business and political machines and planning of, by, and for the people.

"On this issue some Protestant groups have spoken clearly. The Delaware Conference . . . in March, 1942 . . . approved a recommendation for the integration of voluntary groups into 'some form of national economic council for planning, in cooperation with the government, for maximum production and consumption and the abolition of unemployment.' . . . Concerning the nature of the society required to realize our religious ideals the Federal Council Conference evaded the issue by talking truisms about all economics today being 'mixed economies.' The factual question is: What is the dominant element that determines their nature? Is it the capitalist struggle for profit and the coming to power of the successful money-makers or is it the socialist planned cooperation for the development of all through the democratic power of the people? Which is more in accord

with the Christian ideal for human living? History now demands an answer from the leaders of religion.

"The people are finding out by experience what Marx told them, what our statisticians are confirming every year and many capitalists are now admitting, that the capitalist principle is technically incapable of meeting their economic needs and cultural aspirations. What they need in order to avoid the dangers of a Fascist detour that are present along the road of a transition through democratic state capitalism is a clear sense of objective and direction. Then like an army that knows where it has to go, and why, and how, they can take the strong points of the enemy against the fiercest opposition one after another. To make the great transition with a minimum of suffering and loss, the guidance and push of ethical intelligence and will has to be joined with the pressure of economic necessity. The clear duty of religious leaders is to declare judgment concerning the basic principles of socialist society.

#### A society without class privileges

"For some years the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* has been saying that the ethics of socialism and Christianity are identical. It would be more correct to say that the ethics of socialist society and Jesus are identical. The basic principles of both are the development of personality, the obligation of service, the necessity of brotherhood. Both reject the struggle for profit as the economic base of society and re-

quire its replacement with cooperative endeavor democratically planned, both seek the abundant life for all and a society without class privileges for any.

"The historic Christian ethic is a composite of the ethic of Jesus and those of imperial Rome and aristocratic Greek philosophy, the whole adulterated by remnants of primitive magic introduced from pagan mystery cults. So within organized Christianity there is a conflict between anti-democratic and democratic elements parallel to that which divides capitalistic society. The imperialist, aristocratic, magical forces that came into dominance when the early church was captured by the Roman state naturally put the Vatican squarely against the development of democratic socialist society. Elements of that nature which survive as feudal and primitive remnants in Protestant theology and worship tend to weaken resistance to Fascist control of the transition period, and to hinder what should be the natural development of democratic strength in Protestantism.

"Thus the degree to which Protestants will lead and aid in the democratic advance into some form of socialistic society depends upon the degree to which their prophetic inheritance overcomes religious institutionalism, the degree to which they can democratize their theology and worship and relate them to the concrete needs of the time as well as the ethical ends of their religion. The day of social advance is also the day of religious change. In helping to change the world the churches also change themselves."

## Critical Situation Foreseen

On the basis of a cross-country survey the National Committee on the Human Aspects of Reconversion, Clarence King, chairman, has sent a communication to the President urging: (1) Immediate action for Federal responsibility for full employment. (2) Extension of Federal Social Security measures to include a category of general relief, and special relief for transients. (3) Liberalization of unemployment insurance benefits, including travel allowance for displaced war workers. (4) Federalization of United States Employment Service. (5) A permanent national FEPC. (6) Amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act to increase minimum wages.

The organizations cooperating with the National Committee HAR included among others the Methodist Federation for Social Service; National Boards YM and YWCA; Council for Social Action, Congregational Christian Churches; Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds; Family Welfare Association of America; and the National Urban League. Social service organizations and church workers in contact with families of workers most vitally affected by reconversion were contacted in 19 principal cities, including Baltimore, Chicago, Dallas, Detroit, Greensboro (N. C.), Los Angeles, Milwaukee, Oklahoma City, Pittsburgh, Portland (Oregon), Wichita, Washington, D. C., and others. The statements received indicate confusion and tension throughout the nation, with anticipation of an increasingly grave situation.

The report sent to the President is made up chiefly of quotations from the regional statements, summarized under six principal heads. Following are a few abridged quotations under each head.

#### I. Many cities are already facing an unemployment problem due to abandonment of war plants and cut-backs in war-expanded industries.

Chiefly affected thus far are the aged; Negroes and other national minorities; and women.

*New Haven:* "A large factory found it necessary to recruit colored help from the deep south in order to perform heavy manual and disagreeable jobs. With the cessation of hostilities these were immediately laid off and the company has

no sense of responsibility for their future. . . . They are trying to obtain any type of work but are not familiar with the discriminatory practices with respect to employment prevalent in New Haven. They are consequently living on their savings, if any, and in a very short time will present a direct relief problem in the city of New Haven."

*Portland, Oregon:* "USES officials tell you in whispers that the situation is bad for the Negro. When Negro applicants are sent to employers not stating a preference, the Negroes are more often than not refused for employment; . . . A well informed Chinese resident told me recently that it is beginning to be more and more difficult for a Chinese person to find employment. . . . American-Japanese workers meet the same resistance confronting Negroes."

*Montgomery, Alabama:* "Three groups have been particularly hard hit by the war's ending—the aged, the handicapped . . . and the unskilled women whose war jobs have been terminated and for whom there is no other employment opening at the present time."

#### II. Greater acuteness will be felt in a few months when unemployment insurance and savings are exhausted, and as veterans return.

*Pittsburgh:* "It is estimated that there will be one-half million unemployed in Pennsylvania in 1946. For the next six months labor shortages and unemployment will exist side by side, inasmuch as the job openings require the type of worker who is not yet available."

*Dallas:* "When savings have been depleted and benefits have been exhausted, workers will either have to leave the county, accept the few marginal jobs that are available, or remain unemployed. With over 3,000 veterans returning each month, the size of the unemployment problem will grow accordingly unless there is extensive out-migration. . . . Plants built here during the war and owned by the government, viz.: North American Aviation, Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, Continental Motors, etc., are closing down, and as far as can be noted there are no conversion plans . . ."

*Detroit:* "250,000 Detroit veterans are still in the army with about 100,000 expected home within the next four or five months. They are coming to a city wholly unprepared

to meet them, and at the same time keep the non-veteran in his job and in his home. In other words, either the veteran can expect no job and no house, or someone is going to be pushed out."

*Milwaukee*: "Immediately after V-J Day, 1,500 (Negroes) lost their jobs. One thousand Negroes are expected back from the armed services and will also be looking for jobs."

*Trenton*: "Veterans have come back to non-existent jobs."

### III. In-migrants create a special problem.

*Portland, Oregon*: "A large proportion of the workers who came in the latter half of 1944 and early 1945 are remaining in this area through choice or because of lack of sufficient funds to move elsewhere."

*New Haven*: "The average employer feels he has no responsibility for bringing these individuals into New Haven and leaving them high and dry at the present time. It is very common to hear on the streets about these people, and there seems to be growing resentment among the unthinking class toward these rather helpless individuals, hence, the powder keg we are sitting on."

### IV. Jobs available are sub-standard.

*New Orleans*: "Jobs are available in numbers and variety . . . but wage rates vary from .40 to \$1.20 an hour. Industry, by and large, is trying to force a return to prewar wages which tended, even prewar to be substandard, and which now for take-home pay are so low in the face of increased living costs during the past five years, that workers are refusing jobs as long as they can possibly hold out and live."

*Pittsburgh*: "The openings for men at the present time are on 'hot, dirty jobs' and pay about \$32 a week. Job openings for women today are in laundries, paying .40 an hour."

*Milwaukee*: "Fifty per cent of the jobs available here are said to pay .50 an hour or less."

*Fort Worth*: "A large number of the 3,395 job openings listed September 9, 1945, offered salaries from .50 to .85 an hour."

*Baltimore*: "The UAW office tells of cases of people who are being denied compensation because they refuse jobs in our low wage canneries, where wages are often less than \$20 a week."

*Denver*: "There is a trend already evident that business men are trying to cut back to prewar or salary levels in office, industry, sales and service jobs. Denver had a low salary scale before the war."

### V. If these people fall on local relief funds localities feel they cannot adequately meet the problem: in some cases not at all, in others at minimal level.

*Baltimore*: "At present the relief situation here is extremely grave, since neither the state nor the Baltimore Department of Welfare have *any* funds which can be used for an employable man or his family when the man cannot find employment."

### VI. Tensions already exist.

*Los Angeles*: "The problem of interracial tensions seem to be increasing. It is estimated that our Negro population is now about 100 per cent greater than it was in 1940, amounting in the county to close to 150,000 people. The housing problem is particularly acute for this group. There is now a steady flow of Japanese people back to this community, which is increasing the pressure in those areas of the city where there are no restrictive covenants, which is where the Negroes live. In addition to unfavorable attitudes of the dominant group toward the various minorities, we get reports of friction between these minority groups."

*Detroit*: "The keynote of people in Detroit is fear. People are waiting. They are not leaving town. They are not going to spend too much money. They are fearful of unemployment and of lower take-home pay."

*Milwaukee*: "A state FEPC has just been established here; . . . but the law has no teeth, as no penalties are provided. . . . There have been instances where Negroes felt that the USES has sent them to jobs they would be sure to refuse, and thus forfeit their claims to compensation. . . . Among the Japanese who have settled in Milwaukee during the war, there is a feeling of fearfulness as unemployment increases. So far the Japanese have been considered unusually well received here. . . . While there is a great deal of anti-Semitism in this community, there have been no open attacks recently related to the reconversion situation."

*Oklahoma City*: "Race relations have deteriorated seriously as over crowding and unemployment have aggravated a chronic social ill. . . . The public conscience seems very dull to inequalities that could be corrected. . . ."

*Pittsburgh*: "There is evidence of strain in the Pittsburgh community, though up to the present time open conflict has not appeared. . . . Apparent in the situation is the reappearance of discriminatory practices on the part of employers."

*Denver*: "The effects on youth show restlessness, delinquency on the increase. . . . The head of the USES said: 'Already the conflicts around race relations and the problems of minority groups have been intensified.'"

*Trenton*: "The resentment by Negroes and other minority groups over the return of discriminatory practices is being intensified. Those employed after June 1943 may not get reemployment. Of course the Negroes were hired after June, 1943."

## What the Returning GI Expects

Listeners in on the Town Hall Meeting of the Air (New York) on January 18 heard something out of the ordinary when Bill Mauldin, the cartoonist, Arthur A. Birnbraut, and Millard Lampell, in turn answered the question, "What does the returning GI expect at home?" They pulled no punches. Lampell's paragraph on "the dignity of men" is worth filing for future reference. He said: "And another thing. Call it the dignity of men, call it democracy, I was brought up to believe that this was a country where all men were created free and equal. I expect to see ideas like that put to work, and an end to college quotas for Jews, and keeping Negroes in porters' jobs, and putting the squeeze on American farmers of Japanese descent. We paid good years out of our lives fighting a war that hit us because we didn't understand that when men lose their freedom anywhere in the world, sooner or later it will reach out to us. We expect a freedom that doesn't depend on the shape of a nose, a different slant to the eyes, or the sound of a name. Any guy who flew bombing missions with the Negro pilots of the 99th Fighter Squadron flying cover will be glad to tell you what I mean. Any man who fought alongside the 442d battalion of Nisei in Italy, or the 333d Negro Field Artillery in Normandy will be glad to set you straight on the equality of man."

Those are the things we expect, and they won't just fall to us like the gentle rains from heaven. We'll have to fight—for a full employment bill, for the Patman bill to put ceilings on houses, for a permanent FEPC.

I said I was just speaking for myself. Well, that's not exactly right. I've got a son named Pete, age 17 days. He doesn't do much yet but sleep, and while he sleeps, you and I are deciding what kind of a world to make for him to live in. I know what kind of a world I want it to be. A world where all men can have a job and a decent wage and a sunlit house to live in. I'm willing to do my share. I've got my vote and I've got my voice and I've got my Congressman's address."

# Social Issues in Today's World

## The General Welfare

**SWEDEN POINTS A WAY.**—“We believe,” says Gunnar Myrdal, Sweden’s Minister of Commerce, “that wherever private industry achieves its proper ends it should be permitted to continue functioning. These ends are full employment and efficiency production at fair wages and costs. When this does not exist, the Government must step in and nationalize the offending industry or improve it through cooperatives or other means. In each case a specific law must be passed by Parliament.”

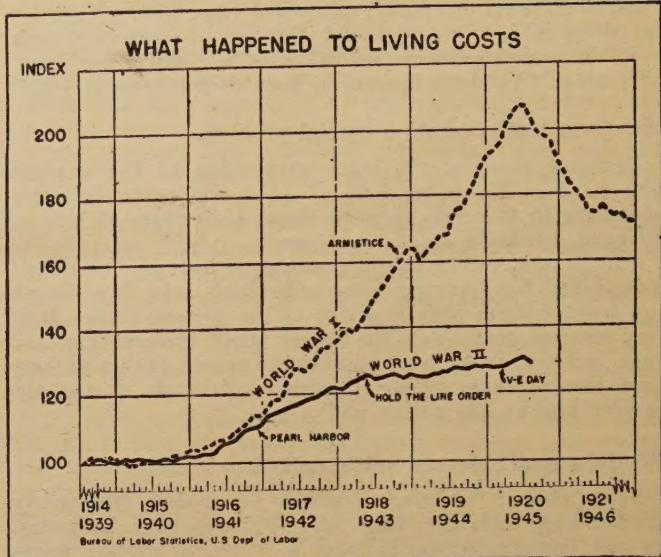
Despite the fact that Sweden succeeded in remaining neutral during the war her economy was seriously affected by it. The cost of living index, although it has been frozen since 1942, is now 40 per cent higher than before the war. Industrial production has been kept going, and inflation which started early in the war, has been halted. “We have found,” says Mr. Myrdal, “that we can move wages up a bit without endangering price levels.”

Sweden has the advantage of having started its process of nationalization many years ago and having made steady progress ever since. Its principal railroads have always been State-owned, and now practically all are nationalized as also the postal service, telegraph and telephones, a major proportion of waterpower and of the labor industry. The liquor business, restaurants and hotels are semi-publicly owned. The government now has under way a big steel mill and, according to Myrdal, further nationalization moves are under consideration.

**HIGHER WAGES WITHOUT HIGHER PRICES.**—Sweden’s successful experiment in moving wages up without increasing price levels, in the opinion of Chester Bowles, Price Administrator, can be duplicated by U. S. A. My answer to the question, “Can there be a general increase in wages and salaries and farm income without an increase in the general level of prices,” says Bowles, “is an emphatic yes—without any strings on it. . . . That is the only answer you can draw from the whole history of American enterprise.” That does not mean, he hastened to add, that every industry and every firm can raise wages now. It does mean that the theory that prices generally must increase as wages increase is demonstrably false. “In September, 1945, the average hourly earnings of all workers in plants were 65 per cent above the average level of 1936-1939. But industrial prices rose only 23 per cent in the same period. . . . Corporation profits in the same period increased by 400 per cent. . . . There are two reasons. First, before the war we had a steady increase in the amount of work turned out by each worker for each hour of effort. This was due to increased labor skill, more modern machinery, and to more efficient management. Second, steadily increasing volume resulted in lower production and selling costs for each unit. . . . We can expect a steady increase in labor efficiency. We can look forward to amazing advances in technological methods and procedures developed during the war. In addition, we can count on the greatest volume of production and sales in our entire economic history. . . . The President urges labor and management to share fairly the increased income which many industries will receive in 1946.”

### NATION FACES GREATEST INFLATION TEST.

Thus far the record of defense against inflation is much better than during and following the first World War. The period of greatest danger lies immediately ahead. The Federal Reserve Board has estimated inflationary forces as eight to ten times greater than those which caused disaster 25 years ago. Liquid assets are now estimated to be close



to 300 billion dollars. In addition, individual income for the first post-war year will be about \$123 billion after taxes while only about \$101 billion of consumer goods will be available. Under these conditions price controls must be maintained if serious inflation is to be avoided. The OPA is being savagely attacked in various quarters by selfish, greedy profiteers. The National Association of Manufacturers under the leadership of the chairman of its board, Ira Mosher, is leading the attack—using all kinds of specious arguments to gain popular support. Already the OPA has been forced to give way little by little, first at one point and then at another. The cost of living line must be held—if it is held at all—by the insistence of the plain people on making their demands known. *Write your Congressman!*

### WHAT ONE DETERMINED MAN CAN DO.

On December 22 President Truman finally, after long delay, announced that the 930 innocent, freedom-loving refugees who for fifteen months had been sheltered in a government camp at Fort Ontario, New York, were to be set at liberty, recognized as admitted to this country as immigrants, and those who could qualify permitted eventually to become citizens. Back of this simple factual statement lies a story of what one determined man can do in the way of significant social service.

Who were these people and why were they confined *for more than a year* in what was virtually a concentration camp? Why was this condition of involuntary servitude continued (at a cost to the government of about \$42 thousand dollars a month) for months after friends, close relatives, and private welfare agencies had agreed to provide homes, jobs and business opportunities, and had guaranteed that none would become a public charge? How was their release finally secured?

The Fort Ontario detainees were a group of people, citizens of nineteen different countries, political and religious refugees—many of them underground activists—who had been rescued by Army and Allied Control Commission representatives and gathered together in Italy where under the war conditions there prevailing no proper facilities for their care could be found. The majority of them were professional people and skilled tradesmen—many artists and musicians. One, for example, was an eighteen-year-old Yugoslav boy who was a brilliant musician. All were intelligent, well-behaved persons against whom the one charge that could be made was that they aggressively op-

posed Fascism. Moved by their plight, President Roosevelt appealed to Congress and secured permission to suspend the immigration laws in their behalf and permit them to live in a camp at Oswego, New York, promising that at the close of the war they would be returned to the countries whence they originally came.

Soon it was apparent that the large majority of the refugees did not want to go back to Europe. Many of them possessed or were about to receive visas before they had been brought to America. Many, if returned, would be subject to various sorts of persecution. The countries of some had ceased to exist as independent nations. When it became evident that certain government departments and congressmen were opposed to permitting them to remain in the United States and would do everything in their power to bring about their deportation, the Director of the Ft. Ontario Emergency Refugee Shelter, Joseph H. Smart, resigned his position and gave himself to a one-man effort to arouse public opinion, enlist the assistance of influential persons and organizations, and prevent an act of inhumanity and injustice. He succeeded in setting up a loose organization of 119 people and proceeded, mostly working alone, to combat general inertia, a nobody-care public attitude, and a tangled mass of official red tape. Immediately following Germany's defeat government authorities moved arbitrarily to return the entire group to Europe. This action Mr. Smart succeeded in getting postponed. A Congressional Hearing was set up, held at Fort Ontario, resulting in a decision to return the refugees if practicable and, if not, to treat them as deportable aliens illegally in U. S. A. On Mr. Smart's insistence that they were not here illegally, having come at government invitation, and that even deportation hearings would be odious and humiliating, this proposal was dropped. Whereupon the Departments of Justice, State, and Interior made a panel study of the group and prepared a plan—almost adopted, Secretary Ickes refusing to concur—which would have admitted a few and ultimately returned the majority to Europe. This plan also was strenuously opposed by Mr. Smart, and others whose aid he had enlisted. Meanwhile, Department heads and the President were besieged with appeals to free the Fort Ontario refugees and grant them the status of admitted immigrants. At long last this action was taken.

In his fight for the meting out of justice in the American tradition to a considerable group of people Joseph H. Smart has vindicated his insistence that principles involving human welfare and basic human rights do not admit of compromise and that when the violation of such rights is threatened they should be openly and courageously defended. In addition, he has once again demonstrated that intelligent and constructive protest voiced by a small minority—even by one determined man—is an effective tool in a democracy.

## Race Relations

### MEDICAL SCHOOL RACE DISCRIMINATION.—

That discrimination against Jews, Italians, and Negroes is a determining factor governing admission to the medical schools of the United States is conclusively shown by a recent nation-wide survey. Despite the fact that from 5000 to 7000 Jewish students apply for entrance, 35 to 50 per cent of all applicants—only about 500—are admitted. Of non-Jewish students some 6000 are admitted. Stated differently, while three out of four non-Jewish students are accepted only one out of thirteen Jewish students gains admission. That these ratios sustain any relation whatever to adequate preparation, native mental equipment, and natural aptitudes no informed person would contend. Discrimination against Negroes is even more pronounced.

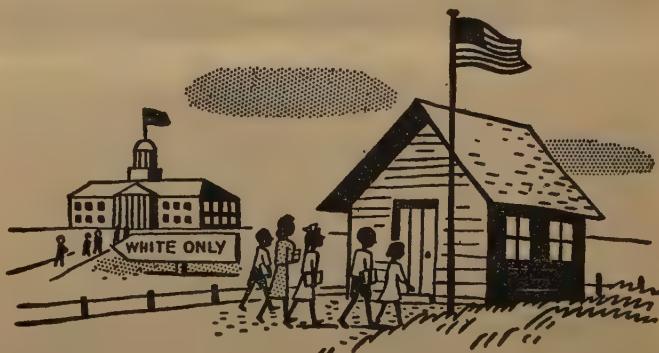
A majority of medical schools deny that they enforce a quota system against minority groups—even declaring that

exact information as to percentages is unknown or "not available"—but the facts are incontrovertable. A quarter of a century ago 40 per cent of the entering class of medical colleges in a given year were Jewish; now only 5 per cent. The enrollment of Jewish students at the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Columbia University, for example, decreased from 46.92 per cent in 1920 to 6.4 per cent in 1940. Of 190 graduates of City College (New York City) applying to all medical schools for admission in 1925, 58.4 per cent were accepted; of the 115 applying in 1941 only 20 per cent were accepted. In the interim the total student body of the medical colleges remained fairly constant. Two exceptions to the general rule are the University of Illinois and New York University where 40 to 50 per cent of the enrollees are Jewish.

Some recent predictions indicate an alarming shortage of doctors for the post-war years. A report issued jointly a few months ago by the Office of Scientific Personnel and the American Council on Education disclosed that in 1945 the United States had a shortage of 35 thousand doctors and that after demobilization is completed there will still be a shortage of 19 thousand. In the light of this situation what possible justification can be urged for any such limitation of enrollment as now prevails? It should be remembered that medical colleges are tax-exempt, and that some are supported by state and some by city budgets. A moral obligation in every case, and in some cases a legal obligation, exists to treat all citizens on a basis of equality. Only expression of a determined public opinion can overcome what has become an entrenched undemocratic system in medical education.

### RACE PREJUDICE AFFECTS EDUCATION.—

In many ways. One of the most striking is the miserably small amount spent in certain states of the Union for the education of Negro pupils in comparison with expenditures for white pupils. Mississippi—the home state of the notorious senators Bilbo and Eastland—apparently has the worst record, \$7 per pupil per year for Negro schools as compared with \$52 for white schools. Texas spends \$28 for Negroes as compared to \$73 for whites; Arkansas \$14 and \$37 respectively; Alabama \$15 and \$48; North Carolina \$28 and \$46. Other than race factors enter into the situation. Economic resources of most of the southern states are relatively much lower than such states as Illinois, which spends annually \$115 per pupil without race differentiation; California which spends \$142; and New York, \$157. Also, in southern states there are proportionately more children, and also a larger proportion of rural schools—expenditures for education in rural areas everywhere being less than in the urban districts. Nevertheless, the race factor is predominant. In nine southern states the expenditure per Negro pupil was only 32 per cent of that expended for white pupils. Salaries for Negro teachers in seventeen states averaged only



50 per cent of those paid white teachers. (All of the figures given were gathered in 1939-40, but changed little—if at all—during the war.)

Negro children are not the only ones who suffer from un-American discrimination. Spanish-speaking children, particularly in the southwest, have not had equal opportunities for education.

As a means of overcoming these and a number of other educational deficiencies Maxwell S. Stewart advocates federal support of education as the only adequate means. The case is presented at length and persuasively in *We Can Have Better Schools* (Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 112, Public Affairs Committee, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y. 32 pp. 10 cents.)

**PREJUDICE!—ROADBLOCK TO PROGRESS.**—“Practically everyone of us has prejudices. Some . . . are meaningless prejudices which don’t hurt us. . . . A prejudice against a necktie because of its color is harmless—but a prejudice against a person because of his color, race, nationality, or religion can do plenty of damage. A prejudice is an opinion or emotional feeling which isn’t based on fact or on reason. It is an attitude in a closed mind. . . . ‘The man who spreads rumors,’ ASF Manual M5 declares, ‘particularly race rumors, about any group—racial, religious, or national—is doing Hitler’s or Togo’s work.’”

This quotation is from “Army Talk, Number 70,” prepared by Army Orientation Branch, Information and Education Division, ASF, and widely used among the armed forces during the war. Among the topics treated are: “How Prejudices Develop”; “All Have Been Scapegoats”; “Persecution in America”; and “True Democracy Gaining.” Reasons why religious and racial prejudice is a threat to all of us are: “Prejudice is contagious . . . Prejudice makes all of us poorer . . . Prejudice robs us of minority talents . . . Prejudice blinds us to real situation . . . Prejudice endangers world peace.” The 8-page pamphlet also contains aids for discussion leaders and supplementary material. “Army Talk Number 70” has been reprinted and is available from MFSS, Room 402, 150 Fifth Ave., New York 11, N. Y.; single copies 5 cents; 100 for \$4.

**ACTION REQUIRED NOW ON PERMANENT FEPC.** The fate of FEPC will soon be decided. As this is written the bill is being debated in the Senate, with the outcome uncertain. In the House the bill (HR 2232) has been approved by the House Committee on Labor but the House Rules Committee thus far has declined to bring the issue to vote. Despite threats of a prolonged filibuster it seems unlikely that a vote will be long delayed in the Senate. Three Republicans—Ball of Minnesota, Smith of New Jersey, and Morse of Oregon—have filed amendments which they will attempt to tack on to the bill, which if passed will limit the operation of FEPC to plants employing 25 or more persons, and subject every little finding of fact by the Commission to review by the courts, provisions which would prevent effective operation. If the bill passes the Senate its passage will tend to speed up the securing of signatures to Discharge Petition No. 4 to bring it to the floor of the House for debate and vote. Twelve of the original 15 FEPC offices have now been closed, and the others will soon close unless the permanent agency is authorized. Meanwhile reports indicate that discrimination against every minority group is steadily increasing. Now is the time to act! *Write your Congressman without a day’s delay.*

## Bulletin Copies

A limited number of extra copies of current issues of the BULLETIN are available at ten cents per copy for such use as members of the Federation and Conference and local chapters may desire. Address the Federation office.

## Cooperation

**THE PEOPLE’S COOPERATIVE ORGANIZED.**—At Huancayo, a mountain mining center in Peru, a Consumers Cooperative has begun business with a capital of 80 thousand soles (\$12,320). Shares are \$1.54 each and no member is permitted more than twelve. The organization of this cooperative marks the inauguration of a national People’s Cooperative Movement, encouraged by the Apra Party recently come to power, as a primary means of the democratization of Peruvian economic life.

**AMERICANS BOOST ITALIAN COOPERATIVES.**—Monsignor L. G. Ligutti, Executive Secretary of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, widely known for his interest in and work for cooperatives in U. S. A., and Joseph Catananotti, a Vice President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, are in Italy to assist in the reconstruction of the Italian Cooperative Movement. Before it was crushed by Fascism, along with other democratic institutions, the Italian movement was well established and rendering a much needed service.

**COOPERATIVES SHOW PHENOMENAL GROWTH.**—Over a fifteen-year period—1929 to 1944 inclusive—consumer cooperatives in U. S. A. show a growth ranging from a four-fold increase in number of retail distributive cooperatives to a ten-fold growth in number of credit unions. Increase in membership and volume of business was even greater. Details are supplied by a recent survey made by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics.

In 1929 there were 1,114 retail distributive cooperatives with 186,000 members and business totaling \$49 million. By 1944 there were 4,283 distributive cooperatives in operation with 1,525,000 members and a business total of \$557 million. In other words, in the fifteen years which included the most disastrous depression the nation has ever known and the major period of World War II, distributive cooperatives increased nearly four times in number, membership growth was more than eight-fold, and volume of business was multiplied by eleven plus.

Local service cooperatives jumped from 98 in 1929 to 577 in 1944; their membership from 10,000 to 319,000. In 1929 there were only 50 rural electric cooperatives in operation; in 1944—due very largely to the stimulus given by the Rural Electrification Administration to their organization and financing—there were 850 with 1,110,000 members and business operations amounting to \$61 million.

Credit unions showed tremendous increase in the fifteen-year period despite a decrease during the latter war years due to increased strictness of government credit controls and lessened need for borrowing. In 1929 there were 974 credit unions with a membership of 265,000; in 1944, 9,099 reporting 3,028,000 members. Volume of business grew from \$58 million in 1929 to \$212 million in 1944.

Business volume of regional cooperative wholesales rose from \$7 million in 1929 to \$140 million in 1944. Value of goods produced in consumer cooperative mills and factories in 1944 was nearly \$65 million.

**COOPERATIVE PIONEER HONORED.**—The Rev. James Myers, a modern apostle of cooperation and labor’s rights, was given the 1945 Clendenin Award for Distinguished Service in behalf of Labor’s Rights at a luncheon recently held in his honor at the Hotel New Yorker in New York City. In his message to the assembled group Dr. Myers said: “Labor will not come into the rights which God intended should be enjoyed by the common man until it acquires the right of ownership. Widespread ownership is a final test of democracy. It is also an economic condition best suited to developing human character. . . . There are three ways by a combination of which in a mixed

economy peaceful progress can be made toward true democracy in which the masses of the people will share in ownership and its steady responsibilities. First, there is a possible increase in individual ownership of farms and small business. Second, there is possible public ownership of certain industries with provisions for democratic rather than bureaucratic management; and third, there must be a great growth of cooperatives of all kinds and particularly of consumers cooperatives. I cannot discuss here these desirable developments in democratic ownership, but I feel sure that they constitute the next frontier for sound social progress. If we are to develop an economy which conforms to religious principles, it must be an economy primarily devoted to production to supply human needs, rather than one primarily based on production for the profit of any individuals or any class of individuals."

#### FRENCH FARMER VISITORS TO U. S. A.—

On the initiative of the organized farmers of France, the French to pay round-trip expenses, 300 young farmers are to be placed by National Farmers Union, U. S. A., on farms and in farm cooperatives in this country for a three- or four-month period of observation and study in 1946. U. S. farmers and cooperatives are asked only to provide room and board and to provide a chance for the French farmers to observe and participate in the techniques of farming and cooperative operations. The NFU board and President James G. Patton have approved the proposal and letters have been sent to state FU presidents and to farm cooperative managers asking for their assistance in locating suitable farms and cooperatives. Also, on behalf of the Union of French Farm Cooperatives, Paul Negrier, secretary, has asked various U. S. cooperatives to act as agents for his organization in procuring machinery and other supplies needed for the rehabilitation and modernization of farms in France. President Patton in urging cooperation in the project says, "By joining in it our farmers can help give politicians and government leaders a practical demonstration of international cooperation. . . ."

## Labor Concern

#### THE CHURCHES AND FULL EMPLOYMENT.—

Is the achievement of full employment a goal which the Church is obligated to assist in reaching? If so, why? A significant answer to these questions is given in an article in *Social Action*, for December, written by a distinguished layman, Frank W. McCulloch, director of the James Mullenbach Industrial Institute of Chicago. Mass unemployment, he asserts, like war, takes a heavy toll of human beings. Millions of people still bear the scars of their battle against want during the economic collapse of the 1930's. The dignity and worth of human personality and the foundations of justice among men are at stake in the struggle for jobs for all, even as they are in the effort for a peaceful world—long recognized as the major goal of the churches. The churches' teachings of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and the plain requirements of Christ's law of love are grossly violated by joblessness and want. As Bishop Sheil asserted at the Senate hearing on the Full Employment Bill, "The most searing and crippling effects of insecurity are not in the bodies but in the souls of men. I consider full employment a providential weapon in the achievement of man's end as a child of God."

The adoption of general objectives, Mr. McCulloch declares, is not enough. "The social ideals of our religion must be woven into the pattern of our immediate decisions and of our daily living if they are to affect the larger fabric of human life." Among the many possibilities of action for local churches and church groups, he suggests the following: (1) *Study groups*, with programs planned to keep church members better informed about the human effects of

economic developments and enabling them "to see through the glib propaganda drives which suggest that social security for persons is 'un-American' but social security in the form of tax refunds for corporations are good policy; or that 'full employment is incompatible with freedom'; or that government inevitably bungles, stifles initiative, kills inventive genius, and becomes tyrannical. (Tell it to the atomic research men or the people in the Tennessee Valley.)

(2) *Community educational projects*. A recent inquiry in Chicago revealed that 71 per cent of those questioned favored neighborhood lectures and meetings on problems such as full employment. Thirteen per cent thought they should be arranged by precinct captains, but 8 per cent favored their being held by churches. (3) *Legislative recommendations and pressure*. "Active Christian citizenship demands the use of resolutions, letters, telegrams, delegations and occasionally testimony at important Congressional hearings . . . 'Big government' is here to stay. Our best hope to keep it the servant rather than the master of the people is to have the people informed, alert and participating in all its decisions. . . . The Chicago opinion poll disclosed that only 11 per cent even knew the name of the Congressman from their district . . . only 17 per cent had heard of the Full Employment Bill—but that 83 per cent favored its principles.

(4) *Cooperation with functional groups*. The progressive groups in labor, agriculture, and business—and particularly the labor leaders—Mr. McCulloch believes, are the main reliance. The churches can draw in leaders at the local and national levels to consider joint action on specific issues involving their basic religious and social objectives. For such a common effort the churches will be helping to overcome one of the deepest cleavages in American life—that between farmers and white collar folk on the one hand, and trade unions on the other. (5) *Personal commitments*. The historic task of the Church is that of calling men to repentance for selfishness, greed, pride, and the irresponsible use of power. The Church must do this in the economic area of life as well as other areas, and by so doing can help greatly to remove—as the Oxford Conference suggested—"the obstacles to economic justice in the human heart." Commitment should also involve decision to participate actively in such groups as trade unions, employers' organizations, and other associations which are powerful influences in the working of our democracy. (6) *Fundamental adjustments*. All of the foregoing forms of action, including the passage of the Full Employment Bill, Mr. McCulloch contends, will be ineffective unless still more fundamental adjustments are made. In concluding this article he says: "The test of economic plans and systems for the Christian must be: do they truly advance the cause of justice and enlarge the opportunity for the development of human personality? By such a test it is not at all clear that even the minimum program supported by some liberal business and labor leaders will be sufficient. The Full Employment Bill is only a beginning. It is about as "radical" as the election platform of the Tories in Britain. It makes so many concessions to opponents of government action that many are fearful it is being oversold to the American public as *the answer*. Assuredly, the Church must not let a futile utopianism, or struggle for a perfection we cannot now attain, hold it back from effective efforts for realizable, intermediate gains—like the Full Employment Bill, expanded social security, FEPC and higher minimum wages. But has not the Church a duty to maintain its prophetic role and to point out that a way of life founded on the supremacy of the economic motive is doomed to failure? Must it not seek to develop a fundamental economic philosophy based on brotherhood and to encourage basic economic adjustments that will make unemployment impossible? American church leaders at the Delaware Conference recognized this duty: 'We believe that a new ordering of economic life is both imminent and imperative, and that it will come either through voluntary cooperation within the framework

of democracy or through explosive political revolution.' The months immediately ahead are the period of our greatest opportunity. There should be enough reconversion unemployment to disturb our complacency. The crisis, however, should not yet be great enough to strain our democratic processes. The future grows out of the planning we do now, together. The churches can, if they will, play a great role in the making of American decisions for full employment which will be so important to humanity both here and throughout the world."

#### IN THE NAME OF ALL THAT IS JUST, WHY NOT?

—The Spartanburg, S. C., *Herald-Journal*, at the suggestion of a country doctor, A. R. Walden, led a movement which resulted in the presentation of a *Thank You With a Farm* to Gene Atkins, the sharecropper GI who was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor for heroic defense of a Northern Luzon foxhole on the night of March 9, 1945. Many people contributed to the fund which paid for the 62-acre farm and its new house. Of all the letters accompanying gifts, that from Chaplain John B. Isom, of nearby Camp Croft, struck the most significant note. The Chaplain wrote: "Enclosed is a \$5 check for Pfc. Atkins' farm. However, I would rather donate a larger sum for a political, educational, and spiritual campaign for an economy that would give all the GI Joes and their brides the opportunity to earn an income which would enable them to have a decent home and standard of living, as well as those who toiled on the farms and in the factories during the war.

We have the manpower, the technical and scientific knowledge, the industrial machinery, and the natural resources to provide every worthy family such an opportunity. In the name of all that is just and decent, why don't we do it?" *Why don't we do it?*

## Toward Understanding Russia

*(Continued from page 19)*

with "non-intervention" and thereby aided Hitler and Franco.

Even with Russia's help the Loyalists couldn't hold out. We allowed quantities of Pratt-Whitney engines to be sent from America with which Hitler powered his growing air-force at the same time that our government cut off gasoline from the Loyalists in conformity with "non-intervention." Yes, we all knew Hitler was getting ready for war and that every one of these ways aided him in his preparation. But if he could prepare for Russia. . . .

We have recalled some of the highlights of the historical pageant of these last turbulent and tragic years in order honestly to try to come to some understanding of background of Russian suspicion of her allies. Shall we blame her too much for refusing to include the representatives of the London Polish government in exile in her new Lublin setup?

Can we not understand why Stalin is concluding unilateral agreements with Czechoslovakia and France and other countries one after the other? We may not like it when Russia insists on a Security Council where no other nation shall have the power to veto any line of action that Russia may choose to take. It isn't democratic. It is distinctly authoritarian and eventually any such policy will have to be changed in the interests of genuine peace and justice. But we can understand it when we review these tragic years.

One final word. It may seem to some that I am anti-British and that I have no fair appreciation of her incalculable contribution in the winning of World War II. She stood alone for months after Dunkirk and refused to give up when it looked as though she was through. Let us remember there are two Englands—the England of democracy, the England that has given the world its great free-

doms; and also the authoritarian and imperialistic England of India and Burma and Malaya.

Her statesmen have no doubt been sincere in their desire to build a better world even when their confused and tragic decisions have helped to lead the world into its present orgy of blood and destruction. We all need to look straight at all of the facts today, however, if we are to build a warless world tomorrow.

## Need for Nursery Schools

DOROTHY McMICHAEL

American women are becoming more and more aware of a conflict between their desire for family life and for a career or outside activity. A great number of American women feel that life ends with the cozy little cottage, the pretty apron, and the dream children. This does not prevent them from getting tired of housework, impatient with the children, and over-demanding on their husbands whom they feel should make up to them for the monotony of their lives. Most of them would be better off with the addition of some stimulating interest outside the home—not necessarily a paying job if they don't need the money, but some activity through which they may feel they can make a contribution to the community and gain stimulation for themselves. It might be volunteer social work, church work, political action—each could certainly use the help of young women who cannot participate now because of small children.

On an individual basis the more well-to-do or better paid women have tried to find a solution in hiring private nursemaids and household help to free themselves for outside activities. This cannot be a solution for the majority of women nor is it, I think, a particularly good one. There are too many indifferent or bad nurses, and the really good ones might be better employed in nursery schools except in cases where a child's particular needs make skilled individual attention imperative. A child with a fulltime nurse is often more of a stranger to his parents than the nursery school child.

Another solution among college-trained and "worldly-wise" women is that of having no children or possibly just one or two. Genetically this is unsound because the parents who can contribute most to children have too few of them. The problem might be solved by giving a subsidy to parents who have large families. However, the parents of the very small families are often missing some of life's greatest experiences.

Most women want children and a family life more than anything else. Many also want a career but are willing to give it up when the family demands it. Thousands of dollars are lost in training women for careers which they later drop because of family needs. There is no greater thrill for parents than the first glimpse of a new baby or the delightful emotional "tug at the heart-strings" which often comes in response to the child. In the best regulated families, usually when the parent is over-tired or disturbed, there are moments when the parent wishes he could just be free of the child for a while. In a good relationship the positive responses must definitely overbalance the negative, but when there is constant association of parent—usually mother—and child, with no relief for either, the child usually becomes too emotionally involved with the mother and the mother loses perspective about the child. Here the objectivity of a nursery school and the stimulating play materials provided may help both the child and the mother.

The turn-taking of nursery school produces more cooperative children and cooperation is a good Christian principle. The nursery-school teacher exercises tolerance and understanding of the child greater than that found in most homes. This helps to teach the child his worth as an individual, and to give him an early experience of democracy in action for children as well as adults.

## Religion and War

JOSEPH T. FLETCHER<sup>1</sup>

(Digest of a statement made before a meeting of the United Christian Council for Democracy.)

Only if our Christian social principles are clear can we make any impression on the world. And yet principles without a program are useless. With principles only, the Christian forces will probably be as ineffective in this crisis as during the first World War and after.

For a while we suffered from a most untheological and unscientific confidence in gradual progress. It was based on a very flimsy assumption that man is an essentially rational animal who can be depended upon to act, individually and collectively, with cool judgment and common sense. In the face of recent, rough, rude, and bloody events that whole theory of progress came tumbling down upon our heads. Over against it, and largely by reaction, there emerged a prophetic emphasis in Christian interpretation, with a "protest" theology and the recognition of sin and eschatology of an apocalyptic nature. Undoubtedly there is that in man which requires us to doubt him, call it what we will. But it is silly to talk as if a religious recognition of sinfulness in man and society requires us to believe in the inevitability of large-scale international military conflict. War is essentially a sociological problem, not a psychological or a theological problem. The anatomy of war is infinitely complex, but I believe its most important single cause lies in the compulsions of economic necessity. Its most important single cure should lie in the removal of these compulsions.

The economic system of production and distribution under which the highly industrialized nations of the world conduct their material life will not permit peace. Our economy is an expanding economy operating in a world of contracting markets and consumer power. The widening gap between our ability to produce and our ability to consume creates poverty and insecurity at home and forces more desperate trade abroad. The desperate effort to sell growing export surpluses abroad, and to establish monopoly markets as "spheres of influence," occurs at the same time that these foreign supplies are themselves being industrialized or exploited by countries which are no longer willing to remain raw-materials partners in an international exchange.

Germany and Italy, France and England and Japan, before World War II, had reached this advanced stage of development. The United States has not yet reached it, but will. The League of Nations was a falsification of the problem of international relations because it worked on the superficial and therefore largely hypocritical plane of political diplomacy. It was warned aplenty, by Sir Arthur Salter and every honest economist. *It has been perfectly evident to those with eyes to see that the competition to sell abroad without the corresponding readiness to buy abroad has its inevitable, and tragic, limits.*

The Peace of Paris, by robbing German economy of its colonial safety-valves, placed her in an impossible situation. The first World War was a struggle between a "have not" nation (the German Empire) and a "have" economy (France and Britain where "the sun never sets"). Germany was defeated and even that which she had was taken away. The military aggressions of unsuccessful imperialistic states are commercial aggressions. Each national economy must, as the price of its continued existence, have assured outlets; markets to which it can export its unemployment and the revolutionary unrest which accompanies unemployment and insecurity. The important truth about imperialism is not that it seeks greater profits or prosperity for itself, but that it expands in order to survive. The point at issue is survival.

The problem of war and peace, therefore, is a problem of domestic reorganization. What is called for is a change to domestic economics based on the fundamental objective of production for use and consumption. It means an economy of abundance, to replace the present system of artificial scarcity at home, and desperate rivalry abroad.

Even if the world powers socialized their economies, the anarchy of national sovereignty would still produce its evil effects. Few of them would be self-supporting. Those that were self-supporting would be "peaceful" only in the sense that the economically strongest, like the United States, are peaceful today. The prosperity, employment and rising standard of the rest would depend upon their being able to exchange their products for the exact things they needed to import. Export-import agreements, of the Hull reciprocal-trade kind and in that spirit of non-discrimination, must be a necessary part of the European peace. Great Britain's old-time game, for example, of preventing the political and economic unification of central Europe, must come to an end. Therefore we must demand peace policies which look honestly towards the decrease of national sovereignty as well as the increase of economic abundance. The League of Nations was wrong fundamentally only because it tried to ignore one side of the equation of international justice.

To sum up: (1) War can be eliminated, as far as human nature is concerned, although not easily. (2) Any solution of war, and any agreements, must be found within the democratic framework, but this must be economic as well as political. (3) A basic and most important cause of war lies in conflicts of economic interest, partly due to an economy of artificial scarcity, and partly due to a lack of economic self-sufficiency within some national states. (4) A just peace cannot be secured without agreement upon social-economic reforms at home, and a sharing of economic advantages with the "have not" countries (which are the majority). (5) The diplomacy of dealing with peace must drive down from the superficial level of international politics to the deeper level of international commerce.

Finally: The Christian social movement in America must never let up in the struggle to eliminate poverty in its own back yard. The problem of international war, on any scientific view of cause and effect, is a part of the problem of class war. The "have" and "have not" struggles between nations is part and parcel of the same struggle within separate nations themselves. As Nicholas Berdyaev says, "Bread for myself is an economic problem but bread for my neighbor is a spiritual problem."

### The Federation Mailbag

Dear Friends: I have been studying the Program of Study and Action of the Federation as printed in *SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN*. I am more than pleased to notice that the Federation has gone on record for fully enfranchising the American Indians. I would go further and abolish the Indian Bureau of the Department of Interior. The situation among the Indians is terrible. They are educated by Indian Bureau politicians and others to think that they will starve if given their freedom. I have worked among them as a missionary for more than fourteen years. I hope the Federation will help to bring about a better adjustment.—Floyd O. Burnett, California.

Dear Friend: "Proposed Program of Study and Action" impresses me as the product of good motivation and clear thinking. I read selections from the *BULLETIN* to my students in the prisoner-of-war reeducation program at Ft. Getty. As an example of what they could do when they return to responsible positions in Germany, beyond merely imitating the American pattern of life, I could think of nothing better. . . . I would be deeply grateful if you will let me know what individuals,

<sup>1</sup> Joseph T. Fletcher is a member of the faculty of the Episcopal Theological Seminary, Cambridge, Mass.

political parties, or organizations are: (a) Selecting young people with a progressive outlook and proven leadership ability, and through training in school or camp, helping them think clearly and act skillfully in the fields of politics, education, journalism, and radio. This would involve training in public speaking, teaching, writing, etc. (b) Using other means for leadership training with a view to furnishing leadership material for political and social movements. . . . I want to extend my knowledge of what is being done.—Don R. Leveridge.

## Books and Pamphlets

*What Is Christian Civilization?* John Baillie (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 59 pp., 1945, \$1.00). Reviewed by FRANKLIN H. LITTELL.

"The Battle of Britain is about to begin. Upon this battle depends the survival of Christian civilization." In June of 1940 Winston Churchill used these striking words. In this book John Baillie of the University of Edinburgh addresses himself to the theological problems raised by such a statement. The book is short, inexpensive, and brilliant.

The problems discussed are of immediate importance. Among the Churches of the Resistance there has been a radical reworking of the Church concept, and there are those who strongly challenge the relation of Church to society implied by the term "Christian civilization." Recently Pastor Martin Niemöller was widely reported as saying that he "was raised a Lutheran and did not realize that the traditional Lutheran theology regarding the state was wrong." He now believes that "the Church must exercise stronger influence on political life, as in England and the United States, where the Church 'acts as the conscience of the State.'"<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Baillie cites from the experience of the Confessional Churches in a dogmatic statement of the tension between the true Church and this world: "Since Israel did not fulfill its God-given vocation to be God's Church as an entire nation, God's message is no longer addressed directly to the world, but to the elect."<sup>2</sup> Against this strongly sectarian separation from "the world," the author expresses the conviction that, "at least in Britain and America," there are residual values in the culture which may properly be termed "Christian." "The historical permeation of our society by Christian ideas and ideals is a development for which we must be profoundly thankful to the Lord of all history, and for the furtherance of which it is our duty to pray fervently, to work diligently, and to hope as bravely as we can" (p. 59).

The author is prepared to defend only the "open" view of Christian civilization, a political situation in which no disabilities are suffered by dissenting groups (p. 24). "Such a recovered Christian civilization would clearly be of the open type which alone I am prepared to defend, and in it the older conscriptive idea of the Church's authority would have completely given place to the idea of religious freedom" (p. 41). Although the potential dangers are recognized—the perversion of the Church due to uncritical amalgamation with dominant social and political forces, the lowering of Church standards with the promiscuous baptism of large groups of nominal Christians—Dr. Baillie would establish the central authority of Christian teaching for society as a whole. He refers to the pattern of former times: "Here undoubtedly is to be found that constitutive element of Christian civilization—in the fact that the population as a whole believed what the Church taught" (p. 44). He would direct us toward a better society which is a refraction of the divine ideal, a society which although imperfect has a "Christian tone" (p. 53).

Dr. Baillie recognizes that the concept of harmonistic relation between church and community is one not congenial to sectarian Protestantism.<sup>3</sup> Significantly, he turns to the precise point where radical groups ("Anabaptists") took their departure at the time of the Reformation:

"The question ultimately turns on the measure in which we

believe the Church to have been justified in the principles governing its admissions to baptism in the various periods.

"It has long seemed to me that the element of truth to which too little weight is given by the protesting movements is that contained in the Christian doctrine and practice of the baptism of families. . . . The insight enshrined in this doctrine and practice is that the most likely way to bring men to an individual decision for Christ is to nurture them within a Christian community. This community is in the first place the family, and hence the controversy has always revolved round the baptism of infants born to Christian parents. But it is necessary that something of the same principle should be extended also to . . . larger social units. . . .

"I believe it wrong to hold as of no account the Christianity which pervades the life of a community before it is confirmed in the personal decision of every individual citizen." (pp. 34-35).

This reviewer would question Dr. Baillie's emphasis. Radical Protestantism came to stress the voluntaristic and intentional character of the Christian affirmation, championing the *adult* level of significant membership. The Christian discipline which marked the congregations was not so much the habit pattern of society at large as the positive formulation of small bands of Christians in earnest. The great century of Christian expansion was not a product of the unconscious assumptions of centuries, as Dr. Baillie would imply, but the aggressive mission of free and mobile bands who deliberately harnessed flesh and blood to the things of their high calling. Modern church life, with the evils Dr. Baillie mentions and the vitality indicated above, is very largely the product of the triumph of the principle of religious voluntarism. If one result is "a situation new in the history of mankind, there being now millions of men and women in all our communities who profess no religious faith, take part in no religious observance, and have connexion with no religious institution . . ." (p. 25), another result is the emergence of a missionary movement founded upon the deliberate devotion of laymen in the congregations which has no parallel in religious history.<sup>4</sup>

This brings us to an even more serious misreading of Christian history, in that Dr. Baillie assumes the low levels of religious literacy in Britain and America are due to like causes. By implication, the millions have drifted away from churches too little concerned with the Christian permeation of social institutions. This is probably a true reading for Britain, where a tolerating state-church has fallen in an alarming fashion from its position of former authority. Recent statistics would indicate a large decline of membership within a decade. Quite the opposite is the situation in the United States, where the Free Church principle is dominant. The *Information Service* of the Federal Council of Churches reports a 32.8 per cent gain in membership in the years 1926-1944.<sup>5</sup> And in 1926 church membership was more than half of the population.

The fact would seem to be that in the last century and a half in this country there has occurred a growth of the Christian movement of tremendous proportions. In 1776, 5 per cent of the population held nominal church membership; through the decades a steady growth has occurred, culminating in the recent influx of startling proportions. These mass conversions can only be compared to the great tribal movements of pagans joining the Church in the late Roman Empire. The prevailing religious illiteracy is here due to the large majority of "new Christians," not to any falling away from a former churchly dominance.<sup>6</sup> The whole situation represents a tremendous opportunity for Christian education, with millions waiting to implement their initial commitment with a finer understanding of the fullness of the life of Christians. This implementation will call for a new vigor of congregational discipline and new strategies of Christian social action. It has already launched us forth upon a new vision of the worldwide Christian movement. And all of this represents the fruition of an aggressive understanding of adult Christian responsibility which took its start in large part by breaking from the concepts of the Church and its place in society which Dr. Baillie champions.

On the world map, a vigorous life anchored chiefly in the free Churches is of far more consequence in this hour of Christian history than the declining "Christendom" of Western Europe which Dr. Baillie undertakes to defend.

<sup>1</sup> As reported in *The Lutheran*, XXVII, (9/26/45) 52:4.

<sup>2</sup> Quoting Dr. Günther Dehn, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> The relation of Church and State is not directly involved: "My concern is with the relation of Christianity and of the churches to the community; of which the State, except when it is totalitarian, represents only one function." Foot-note 2, pp. 54-55.

<sup>4</sup> Latourette, Kenneth Scott, "New Perspectives in Church History," *The Journal of Religion*, IX, (October, 1941) 4:432-43.

<sup>5</sup> *Information Service*, XXIV, (December 15, 1945) p. 42.

<sup>6</sup> Latourette, Kenneth Scott, "A Historian Looks Ahead," Presidential address at the December, 1945, meeting of the American Society of Church History. MSS to be published in *Church History*.